

7

FRENCH PERFIDY

ILLUSTRATED in GENERAL,

But particularly in the

Present intended Invasion,

AND THE

STATE of *DUNKIRK*;

OR,

Cogent Reasons for forcing *France* to an immediate Execution of the Treaties of *Utrecht* in 1713, and the *Hague* in 1717, in Relation, not only to *Dunkirk*, but the CANALS of *Mardyke* and *Graveling*, which cannot remain in their present Condition without the utmost Danger to our *Liberties* and *Trade*.

IN WHICH

Notice is taken of the vast Progress and Extent of the present *Trade* from *Dunkirk*, how it contributes to the Decay of Ours, what it was before the Port was lately open'd, and what it wou'd be had it continued shut, as expressly intended by Treaties.

L O N D O N:

Printed for M. COOPER, at the Globe, in Paternoster Row. 1744.

(Price One Shilling.)





French Perfidy, &c.

 O long ago as the Existence of the ancient Commonwealth of *Athens*, it was held for a certain Maxim, *That Governments resemble their Governors, and that the Prosperity or Declention, the Vigour or Decay of all States, was derived from the Virtues and Vices, the Abilities or Weaknesses of their Rulers.* If we had not so good Authority as *Xenophon's* for the Reality of this Maxim, I believe few *Englishmen* would doubt the Certainty of it, even from the Lights of their own Experience and Observation. We Moderns need not go back beyond our own Days to seek for Proofs, who have so many and so evident daily in View. Need an *Englishman* a clearer Proof of the *Ability* of his *Rulers* than the present Condition of his Country sinking under the Pressure of an immense Debt, exorbitant Taxes, an enormous Expence, and a general Declension of Industry and Commerce; or need he

a better of their *Virtues* than their present State of Irreligion, Corruption, and Luxury.

But though our Rulers keep us to hard Meat, and will not suffer us with Impunity to speak Truth of themselves, I hope it is not come to that, as yet, that a Man may not describe his Country *truly* without incurring their Displeasure. If this be allowed us, and there be Truth in *Xenophon's* Maxim, one need only pencil out the present *true State* of *England*, to come at the true Likeness and Characters of her late and present *Rulers*: And how far such a Portraiture may be for the Honour of our present great Men at the Helm, I leave to the Decision of the elaborate, ministerial and *Hanoverian* Champions, the learned Authors of *Faction Detected*, and *Popular Prejudice*, &c. The latter proclaims us to be a *whimsical, chimerical, mad* Generation, because we are not so courtly as to see the Interests of *England* sacrificed to *Ambition* and *Avarice*, without Complaint; and the first proclaims us possessed of more *Liberty*, more rich and powerful than ever, that we might contentedly fall in with his Scheme of humbling and reducing *France*.

I frankly subscribe to the Charge of the *First*, because none but a *whimsical, chimerical, mad* People would have reduced themselves to the Necessity of seeing, with *Contentedness*,

tentedness, a *Foreign Interest* preferred to Domestic Happiness: But, I cannot so readily give my Assent to the *Latter*; I cannot, against the obvious Lights of my Experience and Understanding, agree, that we are as *free*, as before we had so many *Penal Laws* hanging in *Terrorem* over our Heads, or as *rich* and *powerful*, as before we owed any *Debts*, or paid but few or no *Taxes*. But, though I cannot persuade myself that we are either as *free* or *powerful* as we have been and ought to be, yet am inclined to think we are still powerful enough to return publick Injuries, to protect our Trade, exact an Execution of national Compacts, and Reparation of national Honour.

If we are in this happy Situation; if we are in a Condition to do ourselves Justice, by our Power, for national Wrongs, I hope our *Rulers* will not think it improper, after employing so much of our Blood and Treasure in the Cause of others, that we divert the Current of our *Profuseness* now at last, into the Channel of *Self-interest*. It would be an unparalleled Hardship not to permit us to look now a little into our own Affairs, who have travers'd *Europe* so often of late Years, to thrust our Noses into the Concerns of others. And sure our *Rulers* will not plead *Inability* in Excuse of their tying up our Hands in the properest Conjuncture, that perhaps may ever happen; since such a Plea

would come with the worse Grace in Nature from those who dole away our Wealth without Measure in Support of the Queen of Hungary and King of Sardinia, and who have exchanged the late Minister's Pacifick Scheme, for one to reduce and humble the powerfulest Crown in Europe.

But this is an Excuse our present Rulers are uncapable of. They can never vary so far from their own *Maxims* and *Professions*. I mean those they have adopted and made since they have been in Power ; as for their Actions and Expressions whilst they *opposed*, we are contented to grant them a general Act of Indemnity, and of Oblivion too if they require it, on Condition they are consistent with themselves since they have been vested with Authority.

To humble and reduce France, being then, according to themselves, the *Criterion of a Whig Administration*, and our present Rulers publicly avowing *Whiggish* Principles, I hope it will not be thought an Inpertinence in a private Person to point out to his Superiors, the nearest and most probable Way of executing their humbling Scheme with Success ; and I hope likewise, I shall not be thought unreasonable if I say, that the Interest of this Nation indispensibly requires that we should not let slip a more favourable Opportunity than we could expect, since we missed that which Providence threw in our way the last Year.

To consider on one hand our Power by Sea, the Number of our Troops actually in *Flanders*, the Autumn and Winter before the last, and our Vicinity to *Dunkirk*; and on the other, the Inability of *France* on that Element, her Dejection and great Losses in *Bohemia* and *Bavaria*, and the defenceless Situation of that Town: I say, these Matters seriously and distinctly consider'd, 'tis scarce a doubt that we might have oblig'd *France* in a few Weeks, I might say Days, to a literal and specifick Performance of her Treaties in relation to that *Town* and *Harbour*, or perform'd them specifically, for that deceitful Crown. Nothing did or could stand in our Way, had the true Interest of Old *England* been at Heart, but the Timidity of the *Dutch* which would have vanish'd with the Success of our Arms. But though that propitious Hour be pass'd; tho' that glorious Opportunity was not improved, there is scarce a doubt of succeeding even now, if the Destruction of that *Harbour* be as much at the Hearts of our *Rulers*, as it is essentially necessary to the *Trade* and *Freedom* of their Country. To shew the great Importance of that *Habour* to *France*, and the eminent Dangers to which our *Liberties* and *Commerce* are exposed, if it continues undestroy'd, shall be the Subject of the following Discourse.

'Tis

'Tis scarce necessary to shew our Right to insist on the absolute Demolition of the Fortifications and Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and that they shall continue demolish'd for ever ; but for the Satisfaction of the incurious of my Countrymen, who are nevertheless so greatly interested in this Demolition, I will produce our Title Deeds ; tho' let me say, that had we no Title, but *Self-Defence* ; it would justify any Risk or Expence we might put ourselves to in attempting to secure us from the fatal Consequences of *France's* having so good a Port in the Neighbourhood of a River, communicating with the Metropolis of our Empire : But in the Course of this Tract, we shall find many other Motives no less urgent and evident.

We are oblig'd to an *Usurper* for the present Grandeur of *France* ; for had not *Cromwell's* private Interest warp'd him from that of his Country, he had never confederated with that Court against *Spain*, which was long before his Time on the Decline : But it was with him as with all *Usurpers* whose Power, being founded on *Wrong*, must be supported by Acts of Injustice and Wrong to the Community, over whom such Power is exercis'd. *Oliver's* Advocates, who are not few even at this Distance of Time, endeavour to palliate that false Step in his Politicks, by suggesting that his View to get
Dun-

Dunkirk into his Hands, was the sole Motive of confederating with *Louis XIV.* Had this been true, he would have been excusable, as considering the immediate Interest *England* had in the Possession of a Port from which her Trade might be injured, though to be blamed for not seeing the Consequence of aggrandizing *France*. But we shall shew, that he had no View in his Alliance with that Crown, but to secure her from interfering in Behalf of the exiled Royal Family of the *Stuarts*. And had he consider'd the Politics of the *French* Court, and how much it has been and will be her Interest at all times to keep this Nation *disunited*, he would not have dreaded any effectual Succours to the Descendants of the Royal *Martyr*, whose Misfortunes were brought upon him by the Intrigues of Cardinal *Richlieu*.

It is very worthy the Observation of an *Englishman*, to reflect on the different Conduct of King *Charles I.* and *Cromwell*; of a *rightful King* and an *Usurper*, in regard to *France*. The King, though married to the Daughter of *France*, took the *Robellers* under his Protection, aided and supported them, and espous'd openly the Protection of the Protestant Religion, and the Interest of the *reform'd* in that Kingdom. This he did, tho' he knew all the Intrigues of the *French* Cabinet were employ'd to ruin him. But
Crom-

Cromwell, like some *Indians*, who adore the *Devil* for the Mischief he can do them, confederated with *France*, as having most Power to hurt *himself*, against *Spain*, whose Alliance would be of most Advantage to his Country. 'Tis strange how predominant *Self-Interest* is in the Breasts of some Men, but particularly *Usurpers*.

To illustrate what I have said of *Cromwell*, I beg leave to trespass on the Reader's Patience, for a Quotation or two from a Memorial presented in 1657, by two *Spanish* Ministers sent on purpose to dissuade the *Protector* from allying with *Louis XIV.* After shewing that the *Sieur de Baas*, the *French* Envoy, had fomented some late Conspiracies, and had been rewarded by *Louis XIV.* at his Arrival, though complain'd of, and banished by the *Protector*, they go on ;

“ To which we may add, that your High-
 “ nefs could not be ignorant, how much
 “ *France* contributed either by Men or Ad-
 “ vice, or other Assistances to the late In-
 “ surrections which have happen'd in seve-
 “ ral Shires of this Country, and that the
 “ Troops design'd for coming over to *Eng-*
 “ *land* to foment them, in Conjunction with
 “ Cardinal *Mazarine's* Regiment, were rea-
 “ dy in the Harbour, and on the Coasts of
 “ the Channel, waiting for an Opportuni-
 “ ty to embark on the Ships that lay to
 “ take them on Board ; and that this also

was

“ was the true Reason, why the said Crown
 “ retarded the Conclusion of the Treaty,
 “ which it begins to solicit now its De-
 “ signs are miscarry’d. All Mankind is
 “ surpris’d to the last Degree, to see that
 “ your Highness, notwithstanding Proceed-
 “ ings so unaccountable, and so publickly no-
 “ torious, has any Inclination at this time of
 “ Day to conclude the Treaty with the
 “ *French*, and to see the Measures adjusted
 “ for the Peace with *Spain* put off; the
 “ Interest of which Nation in Point of Com-
 “ merce, being, as any one may see, so con-
 “ trary; and the Manner in which both his
 “ Catholick Majesty and his Ministers have
 “ behaved to your Highness, being so dif-
 “ ferent from that of the *French*.”

Here is a strong presumptive Proof, that
Self-Interest was the Rudder by which the
Usurper steer’d: He fear’d *France* more than
Spain, because she had more Ports contiguous
 to *England*, and more Power to assist the exil’d
 Royal Family: But to put it out of all
 doubt that the Interests of *England* had no
 Share in his Politics, we shall find *Spain* in
 the very same Memorial offering to recover
Calais from *France*, if he would not ally
 with that Crown. And in the Condition
 the Harbours of both Places were in at that
 time, and the Vicinity of *Calais*, the Pos-
 session of it would have been of far greater
 Advantage to *England* than of *Dunkirk*.

And let it be considered, that the Conquest of the one was no more certain than that of the other.

“ And the said Ambassadors have Orders
 “ likewise to give your Highness to under-
 “ stand, that in case this State thinks it for
 “ her Advantage to recover *Calais*, by the
 “ concerting Measures to take it, and your
 “ Highness’s Concurrence therewith, by the
 “ Conjunction of your Forces both by Land
 “ and Sea with those of his Catholick Ma-
 “ jesty, the said Place will be put into your
 “ Highness’s Hands, and shall be deliver’d
 “ to you, &c. If there be any thing else,
 “ which your Highness desires, from his
 “ Majesty, he is ready to embrace all Of-
 “ fers that shall be made him, provided
 “ they are advantagious to the common
 “ Cause, and to the whole *Welfare* of the
 “ two Nations.”— The *Welfare* of Nations
 is but too often neglected or sacrificed to
 private Interest, by even rightful Princes and
 their Ministers; but, as in this Instance of
Cromwell’s, ’tis scarce ever attended to by
Rulers with bad or precarious Titles.

The Importance of the Situation, render’d
 the Possession of *Dunkirk* inestimable to *Eng-
 land*; therefore was King *Charles II.* and his
 Ministers very justly condemned, for parting
 from it to *France*. It was much wonder’d by
 those who pretended to know best the Earl
 of *Clarendon’s* Heart, why he would have a
 hand

hand in a Treaty for the Sale of so important a Fortrefs. If he could not dissuade his Master from so pernicious an Act, at least, said they, he ought to have excus'd himself from being a Party to it. Now, for my Part, I have always look'd upon the Sale of *Dunkirk* by my Lord *Clarendon* in a quite different Light. That Nobleman observing an Inclination in the Court to establish a *Standing Army* in Imitation of *France*, was willing to clear away every Cause that could contribute towards an Establishment, so repugnant to and destructive of the Constitution of his Country. Whilst we had so important a Fortrefs abroad it must have a numerous Garrison, which was a Military Nursery, that might be improved by an ambitious Prince or Ministry, to the Prejudice of Liberty. This is no unnatural Conjecture, if we consider the Principles of that Lord; and I hold myself in some Measure, warranted to think thus favourably of him, because I have observ'd that he had been commiserated in his Misfortunes by some of the stanchest Friends to *Liberty* and to *England*, who would never forgive him the Sale of *Dunkirk*, if his Motive had not been the Prevention of a *Standing Army*.

The same virtuous Motive prevail'd with the late Mr. *Trenchard*, and the real Patriots in Queen *Ann's* Days, to wish rather that *Dunkirk* should be demolish'd than remain

in our Hands. And far from considering the Retention of even *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, of Advantage to this Nation, they look'd upon them as dangerous Weapons in the hands of the Court.

“ But unless, says that excellent and honest
 “ Writer, an Army is disbanded, there is no
 “ Difference between *Peace* and *War*, than
 “ that the first brings the last nearer home,
 “ which makes us in a much worse Condi-
 “ tion than we were before its Conclusion ;
 “ because that Burthen which was at a re-
 “ mote Distance before, will then pass heavier,
 “ and more immediately upon our Loins.

“ That this is the Case in those Coun-
 “ tries where *Standing Armies* are kept up,
 “ our Neighbours the *French* sufficiently de-
 “ clare; and that this may be ours in the Reign
 “ of an enterprizing Prince, is most certain :
 “ Therefore *Dunkirk demolish'd would be of*
 “ *greater Safety to us, than in the State it*
 “ *now is : And Port Mahon and Gibraltar*
 “ *of greater Use in the hand of the Spaniard,*
 “ *or any other Ally than our own.* For the
 “ *First* cannot be compleatly render'd te-
 “ nable under 10,000 Men, nor the *Second*
 “ and *Third* under 15,000 between them.
 “ A Force sufficient of itself to make any
 “ Prince absolute, that shall be *inclinable to*
 “ *give way to a Passion for unlimited Au-*
 “ *thority, &c.*” — We see here what ought
 to be the Criterion of a *Whig Ministry*, if
 the

the Ministry be composed of consistent *Whigs*. But do the many unnecessary Augmentations of our *Land Forces*, since Mr. *Trenchard's* writing the above, shew that our Ministers were such true *Whigs* as that worthy Man? Do they shew they were *Whigs* at all? or do they shew they were Friends to Liberty and their Country?

But I have done with so trite a Subject. It may be too delicate for the Ears of modern Courtiers. An *Army* and a very great and costly *one* we have, which I hope will be employed rather to secure our Trade and Freedom than to enslave us. Whilst his present most Benign Majesty lives, we need not dread, as Mr. *Trenchard* did, “ That “ who knows but in another Reign the “ Corporations may be told, *That his Majesty expects, they will chuse the Officers of the “ Army*, and the Parliament be told, *That he “ expects they will maintain them.*” We are secure, I say, from the bad Consequences of a *Standing Army*, in this Reign, and *hope* we shall be so in all future Reigns, because I trust the Spirit of the *English* Nation will always exert itself, and triumph over the Ambition or Weakness of Princes, and Corruptions of sycophant Ministers.

But when I consider how passively this Nation have beheld the Infractions of *France*, for many Years past, in regard to the Port of *Dunkirk*, and of late in regard to the *Forti-*

tifications rais'd about that Town, methinks I could retract my Encomiums on the *Spirit* of my *Countrymen*. When the Port of *Dunkirk* was first clandestinely opened, the Alarm should have been taken, and it should have been general: Addresses from the whole Nation, for Redress, should have been annual both to the Throne and Legislature. Thus might his Majesty and the Parliament reflect on the Importance of the Complaint, and know the Sense of the Nation. Thus had the true old *English* Spirit appeared and exerted itself in Behalf of the Trade and Freedom of *England*.

I cannot help thinking, on this Occasion, that the public Silence proceeded rather from Inattention to, or Ignorance of the National Interest with regard to that Port, than from Dread either of the Power of *France*, or the Frowns of a Court. I should think it impossible that the *English* Nation could continue silent for so many Years, had the Importance of the *Infraction* been heeded, or our Right to the due Execution of Treaties been generally known. For this Reason I have been tempted to set forth the Justice of our Claim, and the very great Consequence of the Infraction of the Treaties on which it is founded.

The Demolition of the Port of *Dunkirk* being of so great Consequence to the Safety and Trade of this Nation, we may suppose

it was one of our principal Views in entering so deeply into the last general War with *France*: And the *French* were so sensible of this, that we find themselves, in 1709, offering that Demolition as a Condition, without which they could not suppose we would treat with them at all. By the 17th Article of the Preliminaries, offer'd by *France* at *Gertrudenberg*, " His most Christian Majesty promises to cause all the Fortifications of the Town of *Dunkirk*, its Harbour and Ryfbanks, with what belongs thereto, to be raz'd at his own Expence, without Exception, &c. Nor shall it be permitted ever to rebuild the Fortifications, or make the Harbour Navigable again, *directly or indirectly*."

The Demolition was one of the chiefest Motives with Queen *Ann*'s last Ministry, to come into any Terms with *Lewis XIVth*. and however greatly they stood in Need of Peace for their own Security, yet would they not listen to a Suspension of Arms before *Dunkirk* was in their Hands. The Act of Suspension says, " His most Christian Majesty, after having trusted to the *English* Troops the keeping of the Town, Citadel, and Forts of *Dunkirk*, as a Mark of his good Faith, &c. There shall be a general Suspension of Arms, &c." When the Preliminaries, by which the Possession of that Fortrefs was stipulated for us, came

came to be publickly known, the whole Nation, a few discarded Courtiers excepted, were contented, though *Spain* and the *Indies* remained in the House of *Bourbon*. It was seen that the Demolition of that Town and Port was of so great Importance to this Nation, that they ought to repine at no Compensation made to *France* for agreeing to it. But it is always to be understood, that they doubted not of the Reality and Continuance of the *Demolition*.

This, without Doubt, was then the Sense of this Nation ; I believe it is their Sense at this Time, and I hope will continue to be their Sense whilst there are *Englishmen* more sensible of the true Interest of their own Country than that of any *foreign Concern*. That *Dunkirk* should never be a Port after the Demolition, appears evidently from the 9th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which has been guarantied by the principal Powers of *Europe*, and particularly by *Holland* and the late Emperor, of whom the Queen of *Hungary* is Representative, and consequently obliged in Justice as well as in Honour and Gratitude for our late Favours to her personally, to assist in obliging the perfidious Infractors to a literal Execution of it.

“ *Ninthly*, The most Christian King shall
 “ take Care that all the Fortifications of the
 “ City of *Dunkirk* be razed, that the Har-
 “ bour be filled up, and that the Sluices,

“ or

“ or Moles, which serve to cleanse the Har-
 “ bour, be levelled at his Expence, &c. On
 “ this exprefs Condition also, that the said
 “ Fortifications, Harbqur, Moles and Sluices
 “ *be never repaired again.*”

Louis the XIVth himself, who was always deemed to be no Slave to his Word or Signature, where his Glory, I should say *false Glory*, and Interest were in the Way ; that Prince, I say, was so satisfied of the Sense of this Nation, in regard to that *Harbour*, that he never so much as attempted openly or privately to open it after it had been demolished, but rather chose to be at a very large Expence in making a Canal at *Mardyke* for carrying off the Waters from the Inlands, to save the Country from an Inundation. As there was no literal Prohibition of a new Canal, and that *Mardyke* was not mentioned in the Treaty, he supposed himself at Liberty to break up new Ground : But as this Construction was by no means agreeable to the Spirit of the Treaty, nor to the Sense of this Nation, our *first* Ministers of the late Reign, who were not, as yet so *Germanized* as to disregard the Sense of their Countrymen, insisted on the Demolition of the new Canal, so far as to answer no Purpose injurious to the Trade and Safety of this Nation. And in consequence of their Firmness on that Occasion, a new Treaty was signed at the *Hague* in 1717, explaining and corroborating that of

Utrecht in relation to *Dunkirk*. We have had so few, if any Treaties, except this one, since that of *Utrecht*, wherein the Interests of *England* seem'd to have been consulted or regarded, that it would be a kind of Injustice to our Superiors, to suppress so much of it as relates to our present Subject: Besides, the Reader will see more clearly the Claims of *England*, and Infractions of *France*.

The 4th Article of the Treaty in 1717, between England, France, and Holland, at the Hague.

“ And the most Christian King being
 “ sincerely desirous, that every Thing here-
 “ tofore agreed upon with the Crown of
 “ *France*, concerning the Town of *Dun-*
 “ *kirk*, may be fully executed, and that
 “ nothing be omitted which the King of
 “ *Great Britain* may think necessary for the
 “ entire Destruction of the Port of *Dun-*
 “ *kirk*, and to prevent all manner of Su-
 “ picion that there is an Intention to make
 “ a new Port at the Canal of *Mardyke*,
 “ and to put it to some other Use than drain-
 “ ing off the Waters which might drown
 “ the Country, and carrying on the Com-
 “ merce necessary for the Subsistence and
 “ Maintenance of the People of that Part
 “ of the *Netherlands*, which is only to be
 “ carry'd on by small Boats, that are not
 “ allow'd to be above 16 Foot wide,
 His

“ His most Christian Majesty promises as follows, &c.”

Explanation of the aforesaid 4th Article.

“ 1. That the great Passage of the new
“ Sluice of *Mardyke*, which is 44 Foot
“ wide, shall be demolished from Top to
“ Bottom, &c. and be reduced (according
“ to the 2d Article to 16 Foot) and that
“ the Wood and Iron, and other Materials
“ of the said new wide Sluice at *Mardyke*,
“ may be taken away, and employ'd else-
“ where to such Uses as his most Christian
“ Majesty shall think fit ; *provided, never-*
“ *theless, that they be never made Use of* for
“ any Port, Haven, or Sluice, at *Dunkirk* or
“ *Mardyke*, or in any other Place whatso-
“ ever, within *two Leagues from either of*
“ *those two Places* : It being the Intention
“ of the contracting Parties, and the End
“ they propose to themselves by this Trea-
“ ty, *That no Port, Haven, FORTIFI-*
“ *CATION, Sluice, or Bason, be made, or*
“ *built at Dunkirk, the Sluice of Mardyke,*
“ or any other Place whatever along the
“ Shore, at such Distance upon the Coast.”—

Again, by the third Article of this explanatory Note on the said fourth Article of the Treaty, and the Intention of the Parties are again more amply repeated. “ Provided, however, they
“ (the Materials at *Mardyke*) be never
“ made Use of for any Port or Haven at
“ *Dunkirk, or Mardyke, or any other Place*

“ whatsoever, within *two Leagues* of either
 “ of those Places: The Intention of the
 “ Parties contracting, and the End they
 “ propose to themselves by this Treaty
 “ being, that no more Jettees or *Fascine-*
 “ *work* shall ever be made again upon the
 “ Shore of this Coast, within that Dis-
 “ tance (two Leagues) on either Side.

The 5th Article of this Explanation is so
 express, in relation to the present Condition
 of the Port of *Dunkirk*, that I shall give it
 intire. It was founded, probably, on the
 Demolitions being imperfect.

“ The Demolition of the Jettees or Peers
 “ on both Sides of the old Canal, or Port
 “ of *Dunkirk*, shall be entirely finish'd and
 “ made level with the Ground, all the Way,
 “ from the lowest Ebb, as far as within
 “ the Town of *Dunkirk*; and if there re-
 “ mains any Pieces of *Fort Blanc*, *Chateau*
 “ *verd*, and *Bonne Esperance*, they shall be
 “ totally laid flat to the Ground.” — And
 immediately after — “ The King of *Great*
 “ *Britain*, and the Lords, the States General
 “ of the *united Provinces*, may send Com-
 “ missioners to the Spot to be Eye-wit-
 “ nesses of the Execution of this Article.”

Here was most certainly a good Treaty, or,
 rather let me say, some good Articles of a
 Treaty; for I am not willing to become
 Guaranty for those Articles that don't re-
 gard this Subject, many of which, I am a-
 fraid,

fraid, having tended to bring upon us those big Evils we complain of. But, Good as it is, we might as well have been without it, for it has been as ill executed as some of our good Laws, I mean on our Side. To execute a Treaty, or enforce the Execution of it, imply pretty near the same Thing; and it is very little less culpable to infringe a Treaty ones self, or suffer another to break through it. We had a Right to *send Commissioners on this Spot*, and, for ought I know, they were sent, and made Reports of what they saw, yet no vigorous Steps being taken on this Side of the Water, the Works went on constantly, tho' gradually on that.

It may be thought I advance a Paradox when I say that this very *Treaty* of 1717, which stipulates so strongly the *Demolition of Dunkirk*, was that which prevented the *Demolition*. By this Treaty *the Pretender was to be sent beyond the ALPS, the Succession Guarantied, and 12,000 Men to secure it in Case of an Invasion*; and who, that had not a true *English Heart*, would oblige *France* to execute a distastful Treaty, under such *signal Obligations*?

The Harbour of *Dunkirk*, which was, or ought to have been entirely choak'd up, by levelling the Jetties, Peer-Heads, and other Works, has been so cleared up many Years ago, that Ships of 5, 6, and 700 Tons, and 40 and 50 Guns may, and do
come

come up to the Keys. This was not all neither ; a new Canal and *Basin* have been made, within a few Years, at *Graveling*, capable of a Fleet of Men of War of the Line, tho' it be within less than *two Leagues* of *Dunkirk*, and not *one and a half* from *Mardyke*. But this is not the only Contravention of this very good inexecuted Treaty. Every one of the *Fortifications* lately erected about *Dunkirk*, and there are Dozens, are directly contrary to it, both in Spirit and Letter. So that to consider the Rights we have secured to us by Treaty, and the Infractions of *France*, in relation to so important an Affair, one can scarce help condemning the *Neglect*, I hope I need not say, the *Corruption* of our own Countrymen, as much as the *Perfidy* of that Nation.

It was the Interest of the *French*, tho' repugnant to their public Faith and Honour, to elude and infringe these Treaties ; it was ours to oblige them to the Execution of them. They have succeeded by their Breach of Faith, and we live to see that tho' their Success has contributed to ruin our Trade, our *Rulers* are calm and unmoved.

Perhaps our *Rulers*, tho' composed of *Senators*, *Negotiators*, and *Generals*, don't know how, or wherein our Trade has suffer'd by the Navigation carried on from *Dunkirk* ; perhaps too, the Nation in general are not thoroughly appriz'd how far the
opening

opening that Port has already affected most Branches of our Trade; nor how far it is likely to injure it in Time to come. I shall endeavour to clear up these Points, before I proceed to shew the Dangers to which our Liberties are expos'd by not obliging *France* by Force, or otherwise, to put that Port and Town in the Condition they were intended to be by the aforesaid Treaties.

In the Memorial or Petition presented to Queen *Ann* in behalf of the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk*, it is said, *That eighteen thousand Families that made up that City, would be reduced to extreme Misery should the Harbour be destroyed.* But that truly *English* Princess, judging it more eligible that 18,000 *French* Families should be reduced to Misery, than so many hundred thousands of her own Subjects, gave Orders for the *Demolition* without any Restriction; and if they were not duly executed the Fault was not hers. But the principal Inhabitants of that Town, wiser than to stay to be reduced to *extreme Misery*, retired from it as soon as the Harbour was destroyed. The Place became a Wilderness; and happy had it been for *England* that it had remain'd still so. None staid there but those who could not possibly quit it for want of Means to remove, thinking it, perhaps, as well as to starve where they had been bred, and, probably born, as in a strange Place. And it was not *Dunkirk*
alone

alone that became a Defart by the Destruction of its Harbour; all the Towns of *French Flanders* visibly decreas'd in Inhabitants, and *Lille* more than any, were Manufacturers of *Wool*, and *Wool* mixt with *Silk* had been set up a few Years before for supplying the Markets of *Spain*, shut up from us by the War.

Thus had the Demolition of the Port of *Dunkirk* an effect not only on the Trade of that Town, but of all the Dominions of *France* which lay behind it. The *Linnen* and *Lace* Manufactures all over *French Flanders* dwindled away to nothing, and those *French* Manufacturers in *Wool* at *Lisle* retired to the *Austrian* and *Dutch Netherlands*. So that Idleness appear'd instead of Industry, and Want instead of Plenty all over the *French* Dominions on that Side; and what contributed most to the Dejection which appear'd on every Brow in the *French Flemish* Towns, was, that there was no hopes their Condition would be ever mended in Regard to a Port for the Exportation of their Manufactures: And without such a Port, it would be morally impracticable to continue, much less improve them.

For the Land Carriage from *Flanders* to *Nants*, and the other Western Ports of *France*, would eat up all their Profit, and the high Duties in the *Austrian Netherlands* prevented their exporting by Way of *Ostend*.

Lewis

Lewis XIVth and his Ministers saw the approaching Ruin of all his fine Towns in *Flanders* by the Demolition of the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and attempted to prevent it by opening a large and deep Canal at *Mardyke*, which communicated with the back of the Town. But the late Earl of *Sunderland* perceiving the Design of that great Work, and taking Advantage of the late *Regent's* particular Views on the Crown of *France*, advis'd the Treaty of 1717, which I have quoted, by which the Sluice at *Mardyke* was to be narrow'd from 40 to 16 Foot, and the Peers and Jettees quite destroyed. The Execution of this Treaty as to the Sluice and Jettees at *Mardyke*, destroying entirely the hopes of *France*, with regard to Commerce from that Part of her Dominions, unless she could wheedle the *English* Court to wink at a more distant Infraction of the Treaty, Preparations were making for opening a Canal at *Graveling*, where one has been lately finish'd: But my Lord *Sunderland*, ever anxious for the Glory and Interest of his Country, firmly opposing any Infraction whatever, the Design was dropped for that Time.

By this last Prohibition on the Part of *England*, all hopes being taken away of continuing the Trade of *French Flanders*, it was Desolation every where; there was not a single Ship, or even Bark belonging to
E *Dunkirk*;

Dunkirk ; not one Adventurer remain'd, and scarce a House-keeper : And Adventurers, as well as Artizans retired from *Lille*, *Cambray*, *St. Omers*, and the other Towns of *French Flanders*. This was the Situation of the Dominions and Subjects of *France* from 1714, till 172 , in which my Lord *Sunderland* died.

As soon as that *English-hearted* Counsellor was out of the way, *France* projected and executed the most glaring Infraction of the most solemn Treaties that ever was known, by opening the Port of *Dunkirk* that had been choak'd up, and almost quite dry for some Years before. The Excuse made for this so notorious a Breach of Treaties, was more insolent and insulting, tho' not injurious, than the very Infraction itself. *The Infraction you complain of, Sir, said a French Minister to ours, who represented the then Condition of that Port as a Violation of Treaties, is the Work of God and not of Man : The Port of Dunkirk was open'd miraculously in one Night's Time ; and I hope the English are too good Christians to oppose the Will of God, when manifested so notoriously and extraordinarily.*—This affronting, presumptuous Sneer, was all the Satisfaction the *English Nation* have had for an Infraction that has cost them Millions ; and, as far as I could ever hear, there never was any other demanded by our *Great and Wise*.
But

But 'tis to be hoped our new *Rulers* will be less passive than our late, and insist upon other Satisfaction than *Sneers* and *Shrugs*, or even Bows, Squeezes on the Hand, or *gilded* Pills or Potions.

This miraculous Navigation was owing to *French* Industry, blameable only in the Prince, and not in his Subjects, who had not tied themselves down as he had done. This leads me to say that it is an Injustice to the *French* Nation to tax them, as we frequently do, with *Perfidy*, for which their Kings alone ought to be held accountable. It may be said, he must act by his Ministers, and consequently the Nation can't be decm'd blameless. But whose Fault is it that Ministers are Sycophants and Villains? A Great and Good Prince never had, nor can have a weak or wicked Ministry, having a Will to act uprightly, and Judgment to chuse such as are most likely to execute his Commands according to his Intention. Does he happen to make a mistaken Choice by Chance, no Motive can induce him to continue it. But it is absurd to suppose that a Minister will incur the public Displeasure and damn his Soul, by acting unjustly and wickedly under a Master, whose Confidence he is sure to loose whenever he is made sensible of his Conduct. So that a bad or weak Ministry, under a wise and virtuous Prince, is so far

from being known, that it is a Thing scarce conceivable.

But it seems by the Maxims of the Court of *France*, the Subjects have no right to judge of their *Actions*, much less of the Intention of their *grand Monarch* : But thank Heaven, we here in *England* breathe an Air of more Liberty. By our Laws, indeed, our Kings cannot err, that is, commit *Wrong* in their own Persons, but we should contradict a long Experience, did we say that some of our Kings did not commit *Wrong* in the Persons of their Ministers : And the Difference is so very small between the *Commission* and *Permission* of *Wrong*, that it is hardly distinguishable unless by Court Prelates and other Court-enlightened Divines.

It is some Alleviation however of the *Injustice* of a Prince when he commits it, to procure Advantage for his Subjects ; and it would seem that the present *French* King thought so, or his Ministers, when he ordered the opening a *Port* he had obliged himself never to permit to be opened.— In a *Manifesto* published at *Paris* in 1719 upon the Rupture between *France* and *Spain*, the Sense of the *French* Court, which ought always to be distinguished from the *French* Nation, is amply set forth in regard to these Points. “ Kings are not accountable but to
“ God himself, from whom they hold their
“ Authority : Being indispensibly obliged to
“ seek

“ seek the Welfare of their People, they are
 “ not to give any Reason for the Means they
 “ take for obtaining that End, &c.” I hope
 it it will be taken notice of elsewhere, that
 even by the *French Court*, it is acknowledged,
That Kings are indispensably obliged to
seek the Welfare of their People. This is cer-
 tainly true, and must have been the Design
 for which the Royal Office was first institut-
 ed : And therefore Nature telling every Man
 that he is indispensibly obliged to seek his own
 Welfare, our Constitution empowers the
 Subjects to seek their own Welfare when
 ever the *Ministry*, who alone can commit
 Wrong, neglect their Duty to the Publick,
 and sacrifice the national to private Interest.
 This is a Benefit, included in the right of
 impeaching State Delinquents in Parliament,
 which the Subjects of *France* have not, be-
 cause they have no *Constitution* but the *King's*
Pleasure, who holds himself, as above, ac-
 countable but to God alone.

But how or when the *Grand Monarch*
 will make up his Accounts with the great
 and just Revenger of *Perfidy*, for ordering
 or permitting the Port of *Dunkirk* to be
 opened, I cannot say ; but opened it has
 been for many Years to the infinite Damage
 of this Nation, and eternal Shame and Infa-
 my of our Ministers.

As soon as it was known that Vessels of
 Burthen might approach the Town of *Dun-*
kirk,

kirk, the whole Face of *French Flanders* was changed at *Dunkirk*, all Hands were at work in building Ships; and in the inland Towns, all Hands employed in Manufactures to be exported in these Ships. In short, the Town was soon peopled, a Fleet of large Merchant Ships were fitted out, and except the *East-Indies*, there is no Part of the habitable World that the *French* do not trade to from *Dunkirk*: For in *France* all their inland Towns have Adventurers of great Eminence and Fortunes; the Inhabitants in such Towns not contenting themselves as we idly do here in *England*, with the Benefit of an inland Trade, or home Consumption.

From *Dunkirk*, by Stuffs manufactured at *Lille* and other *French* Towns thereabouts, the *French* have almost beat us out of the *Portuguese* Trade for *Camblets*, *Calamancoes*, *Serges*, and generally for all *Woollen* and mixt Stuffs. It was the same at the *Spanish* Markets before the War; and it is so in the *Spanish West-Indies*, supplied from the *French* Settlements trading with *Dunkirk*. Besides this Branch, there is scarce any other in which the Adventurers from that Port do not deal in and out-strip us. They have above 50 Ships of great Burthen employed in the *West-India* Trade; and as *Dunkirk* is a free Port, and lies contiguous to the *Dutch* and *Northern* Markets, it drives the most beneficial Trade in the Products of *America* of any Town

Town in *Europe*. In short, one may find there, the Products of all Parts of the World. It is a general Magazine where the Manufactures of all Nations are to be seen, except those of *England*, which are prohibited to be sent out of Town, *Landward*. So that we undergo all the Disadvantages of *Dunkirk's* being opened, and a free Port, and prove none of the Benefits which might be expected from the Vicinity of such a Port.

It is from the *Storehouses* of *Dunkirk* that we receive all, or most of the *Tea*, and other *Indian* Commodities, run in upon us, to the Increase of Idleness and Luxury, the Decrease of the Revenue, the great Detriment of our *East-India* Company, and Ruin of the fair Dealer. Most of the *French Brandy* clandestinely imported, comes from thence, and all the *Cambricks* and *Lawns*, so shamefully fashionable among us, are imported from that *River*, not growing equal, but exceeding any Town in *England* in Trade and Navigation, except the Metropolis, which already feels the swift Progress that Town has made.

We are not indebted only to *Dunkirk* for our illicit *Importations*, but likewise for all the Wool exported from *England* and *Scotland*, and most of that exported from *Ireland*. For as that Town lies near, and communicating by Canals with all the manufacturing Towns in *French Flanders*, which are
many,

many, the Market for *Wool* is brisker and better there than any where else. Besides, that the *Owllers* meet there with every thing they can wish to make their Returns in, which they could not in any other Town in the *French* Dominions.

To view therefore the opening that Port in every, or any Light, regarding our Commerce, it necessarily must be deemed the most fatal Blow that ever was given to the Trade of *England*: But to view it in another Light; to view it with regard to our Liberties and Safety; in short, to view it in case of a War with *France*, it strikes the Mind with Horror, it strikes it with a Despair which an *Englishman*, who reflects ever so little, can hardly avoid.

Can an *Englishman* reflect on what *Dunkirk* was in the late general War, and forget that we had more of our Ships taken by Privateers from thence than from almost all the Ports of *France* besides? And that the Fleet which carried the Pretender to *Scotland* in 1708 was fitted out there, or that he went from thence, that is, from *Mar-dyke*, the Harbour of *Dunkirk* being then choaked up; in 1715 to *Scotland* a second time, and returned thither? Those are Matters which every *Englishman* of competent Years may remember, which all may know by Reading and Hearsay, and which, as they are positive Truths, no *Englishman* should ever forget. And yet one would think,

think, from the present Condition of that Town and Harbour, that these Facts had never been, or that *Englishmen* have no Memory, or have no Resentment, or Sense of their Danger.

There is no doubting the Power or Willingness of *France* to restore *Dunkirk* to its primitive Ornaments of regular Bastions, Parapets, half Moons, and Peer-heads ; and there is little else but Ornament wanting to it : For the Port is almost as good and safe as ever, and the Works lately rais'd about it secure it as effectually as if the old Fortifications had been standing. But still as the Place, in its present Situation, requires a little Army to Garrison it, because the Works are more extended than formerly, we may suppose the *French* will soon begin to fortify it regularly. And in such Case, he must loose all Faculty of Reflection, who can't see that *Dunkirk* will be far more formidable to *England* than ever.

In the late War with *France* there was but one Port and one Basen, but now there are or may be Three. By widening the Sluice at *Mardyke*, which would not be a Week's Work, that Canal would be as capable of containing as many and as large Ships, as ever *Dunkirk* was : And the new Canal at *Graveling*, which is little more than a League from *Mardyke*, can hold as many and big as either. So that instead of one

F

Port

Port our Enemies had in the late War, they will have three, *whenever there shall be another*. And instead of being able to fit out at once a Fleet of *Thirty* Sail of the Line as they did then, they may fit out *Ninety* or a *hundred*.

But why should I confine my Fears, concerning the Vicinity of such Ports as *Dunkirk*, *Mardyke*, and *Graveling*, to times of *War*, since the *Perfidy* of the *French* Court warrants me and all *Englishmen*, to dread *French* Insults and *Invasions* from thence in times of the most profound *Peace*, provided the *Grand Monarch* thinks to add to his *Interest* or *Glory*, by overturning our present Government? Does not his Majesty's *Message* to both Houses of Parliament, *even now whilst I have the Pen in Hand*, justify my Apprehensions of the Danger we are exposed to, by the Port of *Dunkirk's* being open'd? His Majesty informs his Parliament *that an Invasion is intended, and the Pretender's eldest Son is in France*. We may suppose then of course that the Invasion is to be in Favour of *that Family*, and from *France*. But Ships of Force and Burthen having no Port or Road to anchor in with Safety on the neighbouring Coast of *France*, except *Brest* and *Dunkirk*, it is indubitable that if ever we are invaded from *France*, it must necessarily be from both these *French* Ports. An Embarkation from *Brest* alone will never answer the Purpose of *France*; because with a Fleet of Ob-

serva-tion,

fervation, we may guard the Channel on one Side, but would find it very difficult, if not impracticable to guard against Descents both in the *East* and *West*.

We all hope the present Designs and Attempts of that perfidious Court will prove abortive; but may we not thank ourselves should the *French* land any considerable Body of Troops on our Coast? Because I most earnestly wish they may not, I will not suppose they could succeed did they land ever so many Troops, whilst we have so good an Army, and so intripid and so experienced a Monarch to lead it on; but let us consider that without the present Navigation at *Dunkirk*, it would be impossible for the *French* to land any such Numbers as could, or ought to give publick Uneasiness. To illustrate this *Point* which so nearly concerns all the Nation at all Times, and particularly the present, to be cleared up to all Comprehensions, I shall quote the Words of an Author distinguished for his Principles, Integrity, Knowledge, and Erudition, as more apposite than any thing I could have said without using his Thoughts and Expressions.

Sir *Richard Steele* being taxed with Disrespect at least, if not Disaffection to Queen *Anne* for saying, *That the British Nation expected the Demolition of Dunkirk, being warranted by the Treaty of Utrecht*, he thought it necessary to vindicate himself in Print, from

which * *Vindication* I quote what I borrow from him.

We had that important Place in our Hands, when he said, *The Nation expected it should be demolished*: But I am sorry all I can say at present is, *That the British Nation ardently wish that Dunkirk, its Forts, and the Ports of Mardyke and Graveling may be destroyed, or at least, that it should be attempted with all our Force to destroy them in Virtue of Treaties.* And let me add, that tho' I won't say, *that the Nation expects the Attempt will be made, I will, that there is not a Patriot in the Nation but wishes it may and succeed.* I may have Occasion to enforce this Consideration hereafter, but in the mean while, let us hear a stanch *Whig* on the Importance of *Dunkirk*, with regard to our *Trade* and *Freedom*.

“ In order to my Justification, I shall
 “ show more accurately the Advantages the
 “ Nation might reap from the Demolition,
 “ which will appear by considering what
 “ Part of our Trade has and may be annoy'd
 “ by *Dunkirk*.”

The Port of *London* is allow'd to carry on two Parts in Three, or six Parts in Nine of the foreign Trade of *England*. We may give one Ninth to the Ports on the *South Coast* of this Island, which *South Coast* is
 opposite

* *The Importance of Dunkirk considered, &c. in 1713.*

opposite to the *North Coast* of *France*, the Sea between which is what we call the Channel.

The *East End* of this, on our Side, is the *North Foreland*, which stands opposite to *Newport* in *Flanders*; the *West End*, on our Side, is the *Land's-End*, over-against *Ushant*, or *Brest* in *France*. They allow *one Ninth* of the Trade to the *East Coast* wash'd by the *German Ocean*; and the *other Ninth* to the *West Coast*, which looks on the *Irish Sea*. In this Computation, it is presumed, there is not any great Disproportion, except from *Bristol's* lying on the *West Coast*, the said *West Coast* ought to be allow'd more than *one Ninth*.

Dunkirk is from the *South Foreland* about *thirteen Leagues*, and the Course from *Dunkirk* to the *Foreland West*, *North West* to the Entrance of the River *Thames*, and about *twenty Leagues* distant. So that any *Easterly Wind*, which carries our Ships down the Channel, at the same time brings those of *Dunkirk* to meet and intercept them. The *French* have very frequently, this last War, reaped the Advantage of this Situation, by surprising many rich Ships, and taking others as they lay at Anchor in the *Downs*.

When the *French* are dispossest'd of *Dunkirk*, the Dread and Danger of their Men of War, of any considerable Force, will be removed

removed as far as *Brest*; which is a hundred and twenty Leagues, or three hundred and sixty Miles; and that of their Privateers, of any Consideration, as far as *St. Malo's*, which is seventy-eight Leagues, or two hundred and thirty four Miles.

The Case being alter'd, as I have hinted before, since this Author wrote, the Destruction of the Port of Dunkirk alone, won't remove the Danger from London and its River, unless the Ports of Mardyke and Graveling be destroy'd also, and render'd incapable of receiving any Vessels above 16 Foot wide: And we are warranted by the Treaties I have quoted, to insist upon both.

Brest lies without the Channel, under this great Incapacity to hurt us, that the same Winds which carries our Ships down the Channel, prevents the Ships of *Brest* from coming into it.

The *East* Side of the Channel which is so much exposed to *Dunkirk*, is but seven Leagues broad, and gives an Enemy an Opportunity of seeing our Ships from Side to Side.

The *West* End of the Channel, for which the greatest Fears are from *Brest*, is twenty-eight Leagues broad, and of Course, there is at that End a greater Chance of escaping the Enemy.

If Ships from *Brest* are appointed to Way-lay our Ships in the Channel, they must take the Advantage of *Westerly* Winds, to
come

come into it ; and wait the coming of an *Easterly* Wind to carry our Ships down it : By this Means they must all that time be at Sea, exposed to all Dangers for want of a Port in which to harbour their Men of War, or return to *Brest*, which they cannot do with the Wind that brought them out.

We must add to this, that if the *French* from *Brest* should be hovering to the *Eastward* of *Plymouth* (as is said to be the Case at this very Time) they are between two Fires, from those Ships in the *Downs*, and those from *Plymouth* ; and our Ships from *Portsmouth* may chase them either Way, whilst they are Way-laid at each End of the Channel by the others, not having the Port of *Dunkirk*, or any other in the Channel to afford them Shelter. Thus, should they be chased up the Channel by a too great Force, before they can return to *Brest*, they must either run into the *German Ocean*, and wait another Opportunity of coming down again, with the hazard of meeting all our Men of War ; or else sail *North* about *Great Britain*, (and *WEST* about *Ireland*) which is, at least, 550 Leagues more than they need have sail'd, with the Port of *Dunkirk* to fly to.

This want of *Dunkirk* will expose them to the same Inconvenience, to which the Fear of it often obliged our running Ships from the *South* Parts of the World, as well as our *East-Indiamen*, during the late War :

To

To this Distress you are to add Wages, Provision, Loss of Time, and the dangerous Navigation of the *North Seas*.

From hence it plainly appears, that by the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, in Case of a Rupture with *France*, *six Parts* in *Nine* of our Trade, from the Port of *London*, is 330 Miles removed from the Hazard of the last War; and tho' part of this must be exposed when it passes through the Chops or *Western* Entrance of the Channel, it must be considered, that this it was always liable to before, besides the Terrors of *Dunkirk*, and that this is only the *Southern* Trade; and all that go to *Holland*, *Hamborough*, the (*Baltick*) and other *Northern* Countries, will be quite out of Danger.

The *Ninth* of our Trade on the *East Coast*, would be still safer.

From these distinct Considerations, you observe only *one Ninth* of the Trade on the *Irish* Seas and *Bristol Channel*, (to come at which they are in Danger from *Portsmouth* to *Plymouth*) is the Whole of the *British* Trade, which, after the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, will lie open to the Assaults of the *French*. The Demolition of *Dunkirk* will, in a great Measure, secure *seven Ninths* of the Trade of *England*, from the Power of *France* at Sea, the *French* having no Port in the Channel but *St. Malo's* which can harbour any great Ships, and that itself can
receive

receive none which exceeds *thirty* or *forty* Guns. *Brest* lies *thirty-five* Leagues from the *Lizard* Point, which is the nearest Land of *England*; their Ships must have an *Easterly* Wind to come out, and that will serve them no farther than to the Chops of the Channel, because it blows directly down it.

The Course to go from *Brest* to cruize off the *Lizard* Point in order to annoy us, is first, *West* about 13 Leagues, and then *North*, or *North* and by *East* about 30 Leagues more, except they run the Hazard of going within the Island of *Uskant*, which is not practised, and therefore may be supposed impracticable.

In the last place, our Charge in defending ourselves from such Annoyance as we formerly had from *Dunkirk*, will decrease in Proportion to the Removal of the Danger.

Such is the Importance of the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, with regard to the Trade of *England* only; and in the present Con-juncture, I think we ought to have something more than the *Mercy* of his *most Christian Majesty* to render the forbearing such Demolition *less hazardous* to our *Religion* and *Liberty*; and yet, you see, how Criminal a Thing it is to say, *The British Nation expect the Demolition of it.*

The *British* Nation, in those Days, might have expected the *Demolition of Dunkirk*, because their Prince was in Possession of it; but, as I said before, all that *Britons* can do, at present, is, to wish it may be thoroughly demolished, and to hope the *Demolition* will be attempted precious to any Undertaking in Favour of our Allies, who are obliged by Treaty to support us in the Attempt. And let me add, that *Britons* ardently wish too, that this so important and necessary an Attempt may not be postpon'd out of any Partiality to any Foreign Interest or Concern whatever. This last wish arises from a Jealousy, that without some such ill-judg'd Partiality, the *French* had not been so shamefully permitted to infringe their Treaties in the tenderest Point that could affect this Nation, and to insult us under our very Noses with Impunity.

Ministers may talk of the *Ballance of Power*, the *Equiliber*, and all the Jargon of the Cabinet on that Subject; they may talk too of supporting the Houses of *Austria* and *Savoy*; of procuring *Final* for the latter, and *Alsace* and *Lorraine* for the first, the better to maintain that *Equiliber*; but the Destruction of the Port of *Dunkirk* is the ultimatum of *British* Wishes. *Britons* think that all Considerations should make way for this alone; and that Thoughts of all other Attempts should be secondary only. They are sensible of the Difficulty of the Attempt, but

but are of Opinion the *Destruction* of the Harbour of *Dunkirk* is not so difficult, considering our Power by Sea, as the Conquests meditated in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*. I could demonstrate the Facility of the Attempt, and give Reasons why it must be attended with Success whenever it shall be made; but it being usually thought an Impertinence in a private Man to intermeddle in Matters which regard the State, I shall preserve a Silence as to the *Modus*, tho' I can't as to the Necessity of making the Attempt.

I admit that there are some Things, which every private Man is not at Liberty to touch upon. There are some Things, properly enough call'd the *Arcanæ* of the State, which, tho' by the Liberty annex'd to his Birth, an *Englishman* may have a Right to discuss, yet I think it would be sometimes more *decent*, and even *prudent* not to exercise that Right. But there are also Things, of which the Infraction in regard to *Dunkirk* is one, concerning which an *Englishman* can't be silent without Guilt.

What I have to say, as to the *Manner* of attacking the *French* that guard the *Port* and late erected *Fortifications* about *Dunkirk*, seems to me to be one of those Things in which *Prudence* commands my *Silence*: And what I might say of the *Invasion* from *France*, lately said by his Majesty to be intended in Favour of the *Pretender*, is for-

bid me by that Deference which is due to my Prince, and by that Regard I owe my Country. But thus much I may be allow'd to say of this *Invasion*, which I verily look upon to be really intended, because of the *undoubted Advices of such an Invasion receiv'd by his Majesty*, it is no less an *Infraction of Treaties* than the present Navigation of the Port of *Dunkirk*, nor less a Proof of the *Perfidy* of the Court of *France*. Even the *Admission*, much more the *Invitation* of the *Pretender's Son* into *France* is an *Infraction* of those *Treaties* which stipulate the Demolition of *Dunkirk*.

By the Treaty of *Utrecht*, Article Vth,
 “ The most Christian King, or any one
 “ of his Heirs, shall not give, at any time,
 “ any Aid, Succour, Favour, or Counsel,
 “ directly or indirectly, by Land or by Sea,
 “ in Money, Arms, Ammunition, Warlike
 “ Provision, Ships, Soldiers, Seamen, or a-
 “ ny other Way, to *any Person or Persons*,
 “ *whosoever they be*, who, for any Cause, or
 “ under any Pretext whatsoever, should here-
 “ after endeavour to oppose the said Succes-
 “ sion (in the House of *Hanover*) either by
 “ open War, or by fomenting Seditions, or
 “ forming Conspiracies against such Prince
 “ or Princes to whom the Succession of the
 “ Crown of *Great Britain* shall be open
 “ according to the said Acts of Parlia-
 “ ment.”

The

The Treaty of the *Hague* in 1717, is still more Express: by the 2d Article; “ The
 “ most Christian King doth oblige himself
 “ by the present Treaty to engage the
 “ *Pretender* to depart out of the Country
 “ of *Avignon*, and to go and take up his
 “ Residence on the other Side of the *Alps*,
 “ immediately after the signing of the Treaty, and before the Exchange of the Ratifications. And the most Christian King,
 “ yet further to testify his sincere desire,
 “ not only to observe all the Engagements
 “ which the Crown of *France* has formerly
 “ enter’d into concerning the said *Person*,
 “ religiously and involably, but also to prevent all Manner of Suspicion and Diffidence
 “ for the future; does again promise for himself, his Heirs, and Successors, not to give
 “ or furnish at any Time whatever, directly
 “ or indirectly, either by Sea or Land,
 “ any Advice, Aid, or Assistance, by Money, Arms, Ammunition, Military Stores,
 “ Ships, Soldiers, Seamen, or any other
 “ Manner of Help whatever, to the said
 “ *Pretender*, or any other Person whatever,
 “ who having Commission from him may,
 “ in Consequence thereof, disturb the Tranquillity of *Great Britain*, &c.

“ Moreover, the most Christian King
 “ promises and engages not to permit the
 “ Person above designed to return any time
 “ hereafter to *Avignon*, or to pass through
 “ the

“ *the Lands depending on the Crown of France,*
 “ on Pretence of returning either to *Avig-*
 “ *non*, or to *Lorain*, or *so much as to set*
 “ *Foot on any part of his most Christian Ma-*
 “ *jesty's Dominions*, much less to reside there
 “ under any Name or Appearance whatso-
 “ ever.”

Need there a stronger Proof of the Perfi-
 diousness of the *French* Court, than the at-
 tentive Perusal of these Treaties, and the
 Consideration of the present Situation of
Dunkirk, the intended Invasion in Favour of
 the Pretender, or his Son, which is all one,
 or even the Reception the Son meets with in
France? Taking the Pretender and his Son
 to have the same Interest, the same Views
 and Designs on this Crown, the latter is as
 much intended by the Spirit of the Treaties,
 as the Father; therefore his being permitted
 to set Foot on any Part of *France*, is such a
 direct Contradiction of the last mentioned
 Treaty as justly provokes the Resentment of
Englishmen, even supposing no open Attempt
 be at present made in his Favour.

We are warranted by the Practice of the
French themselves to expect regard should be
 had to the Spirit as well as Letter of Trea-
 ties; this is a favourite Doctrine of theirs,
 which they never fail to propagate and avail
 themselves of, when it serves their Purpose:
 But as in all other Instances, *France* is not over
 scrupulous in her Construction of the Spirit
 of

of Treaties wherever her Interest is concerned. The *States General* sets the Sincerity of *France*, in regard to this Subject, in a very just and beautiful Light, in their Declaration of War against that Crown and *Spain* in 1702.— After mentioning the *Partition Treaty* in 1700, by which *France* agreed to a Settlement of the *Spanish* Succession after the Death of *Charles II*, they speak of the *Will* fraudulently obtained in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, and proceed, “ That the
 “ said *Will* being made publick, the *French*
 “ King did immediately give Proof of his
 “ secret Intentions of making use of all imaginable means *to gratify his vast Ambition* ;
 “ and in order thereto, without any respect
 “ or regard to a Treaty so solemnly and lately
 “ concluded, and the repeated Protestations
 “ he had made, never to depart from it, he
 “ accepted the said *Will*, breaking and violating the Treaty aforesaid, without giving
 “ any previous Communication of his Intention to those with whom he had made it ;
 “ notifying the same without any Disguise
 “ to the Publick, and *alleging for the principal Motive thereof, that the Spirit and*
 “ *Sense of the said Treaty, and not the Letter were to be regarded* ; — and *explaining that Spirit and Sense in his own way,*
 “ *as he thought fit* ; not omitting at the
 “ same time to *threaten* us, and representing
 “ the *Dangers and Misfortunes* which we
 “ may

“ may expect, if we did not conform our-
 “ selves to that Spirit, &c.”

These few Lines contain the faithfulest Description of *French Faith* that ever appeared in Print ; and the *States* Observation upon them is no less true and natural.

“ Which Proceeding, say they, is a Breach
 “ of Faith as uncommon and undeard of as
 “ ever was ; and a dangerous *Instance*, which
 “ tends for the future to undermine and ruin
 “ the Faith of all Publick Treaties.”

When the *Spirit* of Treaties does not so aptly answer the Purpose of that chicanning ambitious Court as the *Letter*, she insists on the latter only, as I doubt not she will in the Instances immediately under our Consideration. I shall not be surpris'd in the least, should the *Ambi-dexter* Ministers of *France* attempt amusing, or rather insulting our *English Machiavel's* in the following Manner, if ever they should be press'd to an Execution of Treaties or *intreated* to make some plausible Excuse for their Violations, to pass a *Session* calmly and amuse.— *Messieurs les Anglois vos Compatriots, sont des plaisantes gens, ainsy, Monsieur vous me permettrez de dire*—— For the Sake of my *English* Readers, I will trouble them with the Translation only. “ Sir,
 “ as your Countrymen, the *English*, are a
 “ jealous, whimsical Nation, allow one to
 “ say, that other Nations do not hold them-
 “ selves obliged to make *Excuses* as often as
 “ that

“ that fickle People require them : But in
 “ Deference to your Person particularly, and
 “ the high Value the King, my Master sets
 “ upon the Friendship of his *Britanick* Ma-
 “ jesty, I am order’d to declare to you that
 “ your Complaints of *Violations*, being not
 “ warranted by the *Letter* of any Treaty
 “ subsisting between both Crowns, the King
 “ my Master cannot but look upon every
 “ such *Complaint*, as an attack upon his *Ho-*
 “ *nour*, which he holds more sacred than his
 “ Crown, and dearer than his Life. The
 “ Treaties you quote, Sir, it is true, pro-
 “ vide for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, and
 “ that the *Port* and *Fortifications* be never
 “ established again : But, Sir, there is no
 “ *Prohibition*, there could be none, there
 “ ought to be none of the *Miracles* of God.
 “ The opening the Port was his immediate
 “ Handy-work ; and there is no Article
 “ that obliges *France* to undo the Labours
 “ of the Divine Workman. Then, Sir, as
 “ for the *Fortifications* you complain of, as
 “ they are distant from the old Foundations,
 “ there is not a Word in the Treaties that
 “ can affect them. The *Fortifications* of
 “ *Dunkirk* indeed are not to be re-establish-
 “ ed, but there is not a Syllable that prohi-
 “ bits the Erection of some at a Distance
 “ from the Town. The same Answer may
 “ serve for your Complaint in Relation to
 “ the young *Prince* lately arrived here from

H

“ *Rome.*

“ *Rome*. His Name is not so much as
 “ mentioned in the Treaties you quote ;
 “ it could not with any Propriety, because
 “ he was not born when they were made.
 “ Though *France* agreed that his Father
 “ should not *set Foot on French Ground*, if
 “ you can shew me that there is a *Letter* in
 “ that Treaty prohibiting the *Son*, either to
 “ reside, or even to serve in our Armies, to
 “ learn the Art of War, the King, my
 “ Master, will be contented with the Ex-
 “ cuse your Excellency thinks fit to make in
 “ Behalf of your Court. But, Sir, permit
 “ me to say, that, as there is no such Prohi-
 “ bition by the *Letter* of any Treaty, his
 “ Majesty cannot help looking upon your
 “ present *Complaint* as injurious to his own
 “ Honour and Glory, and that of the
 “ Diadem he wears ; and therefore *Repa-*
 “ *ration, &c.*”

If ever *France* should be treated with any
 otherwise than by the *Sword*, in regard to
 her *Violations* in these Instances, I believe
 there is not an Intelligent Reader in this Na-
 tion, but will suppose she will treat our Mi-
 nisters with such *Whipp'd-Sillibub* as I have
 dish'd up here, in order to point out more tru-
 ly the *Perfidy* and *Address* of that insidious
 Court. There is no Reliance upon her
Faith, and much less on her *Friendship*,
 which made me often Wonder at the Diffe-
 rence of our *Conduct* towards *Her* and the
 Court

Court of *Vienna*, from the *Accession* to the Death of the late Emperor. The *Neutrality* of *H——r* indeed, two Years ago, and the Attack at *Dettingen* last Summer, seem to have given our Court another *Biafs*, which, it is to be hop'd, won't wear off till Justice be acquir'd this Nation for the Violations of a Crown never to be satiated. But if our Ministry be as much in Earnest as they appear and ought to be ; if they would restore the *Trade* of their Country impaired chiefly by the Navigation of *Dunkirk* ; if they would preserve the Safety and Peace of their Country, always in Danger from the Vicinity of that Port ; if they would give us a Chance of recovering our Trade ; in fine, if they would resent the Indignity offer'd to their Prince at *Dettingen*, and the Peril his sacred Person was expos'd to, and likewise the Risk and Perfidy of an *intended Invasion*, they will insist upon something more substantial than Words, or even *Paper* or *Parcuments* in regard to the present Violations of *France*.

I shall conclude with the Words of an ingenious *Memorialist*, who, in 1703, to prevent *France* from alluring any of the Members of the grand Alliance into her Interest and from their own, had enumerated all her Usurpations during the Reign of *Louis XIV.* How swelled would the Account be had those of his *Successor* been added ! Witness, *Lorraine*, *Naples* and *Sicily* : But had his *Viola-*

tions of *Treaties* been added, how would the prodigious Catalogue be extended !

Those Sovereigns, says the discerning Statesman, who aim at true Glory, and have a real Concern for the Good of their People, and the Quiet of the World, cannot study too much the Politicks of *France* ; to the End they may conceive the greater Abhorrence of them, and once for all, take an effectual Course to be no more deluded by them.

When that Crown has found Opportunities to aggrandize itself, it has never boggled at the Violation of Treaties, even of those confirm'd by solemn Oaths ; and has thereby sufficiently warn'd the Allies not to lay down their Arms, before they have settled the only Guaranty that is capable of securing a Treaty with *France*.

That *Guaranty* can be no other than to put that Crown under an impossibility of violating its Engagements ; for certainly the Allies and the whole World must now be convinc'd that *France* has no other Principles nor Aims than its own Grandeur and the Oppression of others. Of this they have had all imaginable Proofs, not only in all Acts of Violence, which that Crown has committed openly, but in all Negotiations ; wherein *France* has made use sometimes of Haughtiness and Threats, sometimes of Suppleness and under-hand Practices.---Here follows the long Account

count of her *Usurpations*, which together with her *Infractions* of Treaties, I omit here, as being so notorious and well known to every *Englishman* of the most moderate Reading and Reflection; and then the Author concludes.

By this general Account of the *Usurpations* and *Infidelities* of *France*, let every impartial Person judge, whether the stipulated Preliminaries of Peace (settled at *Gertruydenberg*) are not a shining Proof of the Moderation of the Allies; and whether they can safely sheath the Sword till they have reduced *France* to an absolute Inability of endangering (either by Force or Fraud) the Peace and Liberties of *Europe* hereafter.—— And let us add, the *Peace*, *Liberties*, and *Trade* of the *English Nation* in Particular.

F I N I S.





